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ONE KOREA

A Review of the April
Revolution

Militarists Facing Gravest
Crisis

Unificationists Gone
Underground

India Establishes Ties
with Both Koreas

No. 10

April 1962

Our Aims and Demands

Liberation from Japanese Imperialism did not bring complete freedom and independence to Korea. Instead, the Big Powers of the world split the Korean territory and nation into two countries. And to this day, the Korean people have been suffering for sixteen long years under the most piteous and distressing conditions. Not only have we constantly wandered on the brinks of death, pressed by poverty and oppression, but we at last had to commit the most shameful mistake in our history: Incited by foreign powers, we Koreans engaged ourselves in the horrible task of killing our own brothers during that tragical Korean War. Yet, in spite of all these sufferings and injustices, the Korean people obediently held trust in the good faiths of the Big Powers, and solely believed that they would carve out the future of Korea for us.

But today we have finally realized our stupidity. We know well now that we must carve out our own destiny with our own hands, that is, the Korean nation must realize unification of Korea by the nation's own powers if it is willing to live. And the people's uprising in April last year which overthrew that most atrocious government of all times, the Syngman Rhee regime, without borrowing any aid from others, has given us the confidence that we can accomplish this aspiration.

We, as members of the Korean nation and campaigners for the unification movement, urged by such consciousness and confidence, propose here that our Independent and Peaceful Unification shall commence by conducting mutual contact and exchange between the North and South Korean people. Whereby, we are sure, brotherly love will be renewed and North and South negotiations invited; thus enabling concrete plans for unification to be worked out. We also believe that the unification must be not only the unification of the Korean territories but also of the divided nation. And in order to reflect the true will of the entire nation on the unification, we call for a Free General Elections to be held throughout North and South Korea; and through these elections, a Unified Central Government shall be established. From these standpoints, we demand:

1) *To immediately open up exchanges of letters, civilian travel, culture and trade between North and South Korea.*
2) *To convene at once an All-Korea Conference represented by delegates from the Governments, political parties and civil organizations of both Koreas, to study and work out the measures for preparing the All-Korea General Elections and establishing the Unified Central Government.*

We are convinced that these demands are fully legitimate, equitable and just since they are based on the standpoints of humanity, fundamental rights and the principle of self-determination. Still we cannot ignore the bearings which the Korean Unification problem has on the international relations. Thus emphasizing the original mission of the United Nations; respecting the authority of the 1954 Geneva Conference in which both the North and South Korean Delegations had participated, and acknowledging adoption of the Agreements reached at the said Conference, we request the nations concerned:

1) *To call as soon as possible an International Conference that shall further the accomplishments of the Political Conference on the Korean Question held at Geneva in 1954, and accelerate the Korean unification by assisting the independent unification movements of the Korean people.*
   Besides those nations which participated in the 1954 Conference, delegations from the four nations constituting the Korean Armistice Observation Commission (Switzerland, Sweden, Poland and Czechoslavakia) and India shall participate in the proposed Conference.
2) *All nations participating in this International Conference shall assume the responsibility to secure the peace in the Korean Peninsula and to guarantee the peaceful development of Unified Korea.*
   In order to secure these guarantees, the United States, the Soviet Union and all other countries shall immediately stop supplying weapons and all other military aids to the present Governments of North and South Korea; shall pledge to assist in the reconstruction of Korea on conditions of non-intervention in her internal affairs and also not to utilize Unified Korea as military bases; and shall recommend immediate membership of Unified Korea to the United Nations.
3) *The same nations shall also support, when requested, the projects of the Unification Projects Agency which will be established by tne All-Korea Confererecce, and also set up an International Supervision Commission to supervise the All-Korea General Elections which will be administered by the above Agency.*
   The International Supervision Commission shall be formed by nations that did not participate in the Korean War, but elected by the participating nations in the proposed International Conference and confirmed by the United Nations.
4) *The foreign armed forces stationed in Korea shall be replaced by International Police Forces ana evacuate Korea as soon as possible.*
   The International Police Forces shall be organized by troops from nations that did not participate in the Korean War; shall have missions to maintain the peace in Korea and also to secure an atmosphere in which free and fair elections can be enforced; and shall withdraw from Korea when requested by the Unified Korea Government.

Unification of Korea is a matter of life and death to the Korean people. No one, no nation should be allowed to bar our way. Therefore, we here appeal to the world to understand and to extend its support to our aims and demands.

ONE KOREA

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE OF NEWS AND VIEWS ON KOREAN UNIFICATION MOVEMENTS

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Spring for Koreans

April, all to welcome thee,
Spring sets free
Ancient flames, and with low breath
Wakes the ashes gray and old
That the cold
Chilled within our hearts to death,
From *Remy Belleau*: April

April is the month when Spring comes in full stride to the hills and valleys of the Korean peninsula. Blossoms of peaches and plums should by now adorn the countryside of the southern seacoast and the azaleas color the green banks of the Nagdong. Purple mists should hang over the peaks of Taibaeg Mts. and the forsythias hue the rich valleys of the Han River in dazzling gold. In north, the Moranpong Mt. should rise hazily above the spring clouds in the eastern skies of Pyongyang and the thaw swell the rivers of Yalu and Tumen to roar on ever mightily. Though known and loved more for her autumn beauty, spring in Korea is exceptional too.

Koreans born to such a beautiful country, however, have not been as blessed as the nature of their land. Continuous challenges and hardships, humiliations and adversities have been their destiny and for which sake, Koreans could never welcome the coming of spring whole-heartedly. Under the 40 years of Japanese colonial rule, Koreans had to sell their daughters or dig roots in order to carry on their miserable existence when swallows brought spring into Korea from the southern skies yonder. Countless were the peasants driven out of their native villages by hunger at the doorstep of each spring and many a bard have sung such sad verses as "swollen were the waters of Yalu with the tears of bitternes" or "bloomed the azaleas of Nagdong in bloodlike crimson denoting the grief of the maiden sold" to record the anguish of the embittered people.

No Thaw

A supposedly great day came on August 15, 1945. Koreans rejoiced in exultation over the liberation from the torment of the Japanese imperialists. Each and every soul hailed that a real spring had come to Korea and believed that the whole of Korean peninsula was free and happy at last.

But, cruel destiny did not rule so. Tigers were sent in place of wildcats to control Korea and the peninsula

was cut into two pieces at the 38th parallel where tight walls prohibit even brothers and sisters from seeing each other. And things did not end there.

Instigated by the foreign powers, Koreans who had never invaded other nations or engaged in violent civil strifes from time immemorial, were driven into the terrible act of fighting and killing their own brethrens and the 3 years of hostilities reduced four-fifths of the nation down to ashes while some 2 million Korean lives had to be lost.

Furthermore, all the sacrifices were offered in vain, for the long-awaited spring did not come again and the Korean peninsula still has a military government building up its war potential, on the one hand, and a Communist regime strengthening military ties with its allies on the other, so that no thaw seems to be in sight.

Around the Corner

Is there then no prospects for the long-awaited spring to come unto Koreans? It seems far away no doubt; for a real spring in which Koreans can rejoice must be the liberation from foreign influence and assurance of national independence and democratic rights. And to gain all that, the present rulers must be thrown out and peaceful unification attained for Korea. Still to hold such pessimistic views would be a superficial look into reality. It is true that the bloodthirstry militarists have put gags and fetters on the people and even massacred patriots for the sake of maintaining their ruling power but such cruel tyranny will never endure; for would not another April Revolution that brought down the Syngman Rhee dictatorship in a week's struggle break out again any moment? Does not the situation suggest that an uprising many times as fierce as that of two years ago might break out any moment to wipe out the military dictatorship with one deadly blow?

The emergence of the military regime in South Korea is but one cold wave that has swept in before the coming of a real warm spring. It has put a thin coat of ice on the country and withered the budds for a time but it surely cannot stop the spring sun from shedding its warm sunshine nor the good old earth from blooming its flowers. The icy military dictatorship is doomed to melt in total collapse before the warm sunshine and the energies of good old earth which shall earnestly adorn Korea with a real spring in due time.

Calls, in the meantime, for national independence has been ringing throughout the world and battle cries for freedom are echoing from the very depths of Africa. All nations must have independence and freedom to live as they choose. And the call of the times, therefore, commands that Korea too shall be free and reunited.

It was just April two years ago that Korean women had till then been sheltered deeply inside their houses, came out unto the city streets to join the ranks of their student sons to fight the oncharging police. They dug up bricks from the pavements for their sons to hurl at the oppressors in hope that they too would become free. And thus the heroic mothers won as much freedom as the students through the great struggle against suppression. Many foresee that the coming 2nd anniversary of the April Revolution may become a decisive moment in the history of Korea. And once the spirit of the April Revolution is arowsed, that will spell the doom of the present oppressors.

Koreans must still envy those voices of spring—the skylark singing high above the green fields and the bush warbler chanting in the willow tree but it may not be long before Koreans too would be entitled to hail spring in an equally joyous tone. Till then, Koreans, let us march on courageously carrying high our banners of peaceful unification.

Police cracking down on Seoul students, April 19, 1960

A REVIEW OF THE APRIL REVOLUTION

Like an angered volcano, the popular uprisings of 1960 that started from Taegu and grew ever fierce until April 19 when five hundred thousand Seoul citizens burst out into the streets of the capital to bring down the dictatorial government of Syngman Rhee. Hundreds of young men gave their lives that their nation might live free again and the April Revolution ushered a new era of democracy into the land. Later developments, however, went astray from the aspired direction and on came the military coup d'etat in May last year to devastate all the noble accomplishments of the revolution. The spirit of the April Revolution, nevertheless, is living on and on feting its 2nd anniversary today Koreans shall renew their pledges to win back democracy and also wish the world to reappraise the significances of this glorious popular revolution.

I Background

Suppression of the Opposition. In order to grasp a full picture of the background of the April Revolution, it is necessary return to the suppression and execution of Cho Bong-Am, two-time Progressive presidential candidate. As the popular statesman posed a big threat, Syngman Rhee ordered his henchman to suppress Cho and his party. In spite of the abuse of the government's power and influence, unfair trick and means of election-rigging, blackmail, and intervention etc. the Progressive candidate Cho, campaigning on a platform with peaceful unification as its baner gathered immense support—more than 2 million votes—among the masses in the 1956 presidential elections. Fearing the outcomes, the Rhee government framed a spy story on Cho and finally got him hanged in July 1959.

The election-rigging machine was then directed towards the Democrats—arch rivals of the Liberals, in the 1960 Presidential elections. Bribery was the most effective weapon there and 10 Democrats were bought over into the Liberal camp at 10 to 20 million hwan per head. Suspension of publication, in the meantime, was placed on the Kyunghyang Shinmun of Seoul, the mouthpiece of the Democrats.

Election-rigging. In early preparation for the 1960 Presidential elections, Syngman Rhee instated in March 1959 Choi In-Kyu as home minister to control the elections and Han Hi-Suk former vice-speaker of the National Assembly, as his campaign manager in charge of election strategy and campaign funds. These men got together to produce the most unfair elections in the history of Korea.

The chiefs of all local governmenets were summoned one by one in front of Choi and were ordered to: (1) post a considerable number of personnel with arm bands marked Liberal Party surrounding each polling booths at 100 yards distance to create an all-for-Liberal atmosphere while putting a psychological pressure on those voting for the opposition (2) secure 40% of the eligible votes in advance by preparing bogus registrations and buying over the non-voters (3) make bought-over voters watch each other by teaming them up into triplets (4) buy over the polling witnesses of the opposition or invent pretexts to have them leave the polling booth (5) secretly substitute ballot boxes during transfer to the tabulation centers (6) "substitute" and "mix" votes during the counting (7) forge, after counting, the poll tabulation sheets and (8) through these steps, make the votes count over 83% of the total votes cast. Some 1,110 million hwan of "campaign funds" were distributed among the police and another 180 million went to hoodlums. The total "funds" spent by the Liberals added up to the tremendous figures of 7 billion hwan, most of which was procured by campaign manager Han through the services of such officials as the governors of the Bank of Korea and the Industrial Bank.

On March 15, 1960 the nation went to the polls to elect its President, but interventions continued. Against the custom, intermediate announcements on the vote-counting were suddenly suspended. This was because the total votes for the Liberal Party had far exceeded the overall eligible votes of the country. The embarrassed Home Ministry hurriedly gave out instructions to regulate the tabulations and after the adjustment were made, Syngman Rhee elected to a fourth term announced in a statement: "The will of the nation has become clear. The nation has again approved and praised the competency of the Liberal administration. We are greatly encouraged by the overwhelming support given to our Party." In this way, the tyranny of the Syngman Rhee regime reached its highest and in the meantime, the accumulated indignation of the nation passed the point beyond tolerance.

II Prelude

Taegu Student Demonstrations. On February 28, 1960 eight-hundred students of the Kyungbook High School of Taegu, enfuriated over the Liberals' ill-using of schools as instruments to gather votes, marched out of the school gates into the city streets, carrying placards that read: "Don't use school for political interests! Give us back our rights to demonstrate!" The boys were immediately joined by 700 more students of the Taegu High School who were also followed by hundreds more belonging to Kyungbook Girls High School, Taegu Girls High School and Taegu Commercial High School. The students were soon dispersed by club-swinging local police, but when night came, they renewed their demonstration

and collided with the police at all sectors of the city whereby many were seriously wounded. The townsfolk symphatized with the students and concealed the hunted deep in their homes. Thus, the people's indignation came to explode and the struggle against unfair elections and the dictatorship was begun.

Masan Uprising. The Taegu incident immediately touched off a wave of nationwide student demonstrations. On March 3 students demonstated in Seoul; on the 8th and 10th in Taejon; also on the 10th in Soowon and Choongjoo; on the 14th again in Seoul and Pusan and all protested against the unfair elections and abusing of schools for political interests. On March 15, however, an uprising far violent and bigger in scale broke out in Masan. This southern port city, along with Taegu, is noted for its progressive leanings and its citizens had never sent a Liberal candidate to the National Assembly. In the second presidential elections, the city gave more votes to the Progressive candidate Cho Bong-Am than to Syngman Rhee. So, the unfair practices in the 1960 elections were pushed to extremes here. Countless voters were purposely scratched off the registrations; while illegal open balloting was forced on the voters.

Enfuriated by the cheatings, a band of several hundred Masan citizens started on a demonstration march to the city hall where the votecounting was being done. They demanded that the elections be nullified and citizens kept joining in until its number increased by ten-fold. The police forces tried to stem the angered band with fire hoses but to no avail. In time the number of the demonstrators multiplied into nearly 60,000. Terror-stricken by the all-out uprising of Masan citizens, the police finally opened fire on the demonstrators and killed 10 citizens on the spot. The anger of the townspeople reached its highest. They retaliated with barrages of rocks. The women in the ranks took over the job of rock-gathering. The demonstrators penetrated the police lines, put fire on two police boxes and fought on until police reinforcements arrived from nearby districts to disperse them. Several hundred citizens were horded into prisons and calm returned to Masan for the time being.

On April 11, however, the mutilated body of student Kim Chu-Yul was discovered by a fisherman at the port. The corpse showed evident marks of brutal tortures and the eyes indicated use of tear gasses. Tens of thousands of Masan citizens who came to pay homage to the unfortunate boy, could not hold back their anger and started another demonstration. They attacked and burned one after the other the buildings of Masan police station, branch office of the Liberal Party, sub-office of the pro-government Seoul Shinmoon (newspaper) and also a home of a turncoat Liberal Assemblyman. Two more citizens fell dead before the police bullets but resistance was carried on into the 13th in face of the ruthless guns and water hoses turned on them by the police. The city was in a state of revolution for 3 days until the demonstrators were suppressed by the police and Syngman Rhee issued a warning that: "the riots were doubtlessly instigated by Communists and therefore a thorough investigation is necessary."

III Climax

April 19. The Masan uprising gave vast encouragement to the nationwide struggle being staged against the Rhee dictatorship. The slogans were now switched from protests against the unfair elections to calls for bringing down the Rhee regime. On March 16 and 17th, students of the Sungnam High School demonstrated in Seoul and on April 6th and 9th, civilian demonstrations were staged in Seoul and Pusan respectively. And finally the nationwide struggle reached its climax and the stage was set to deal a final blow on the Rhee dictatorship.

On April 18, students of the Koryu University broke through the police lines, marched to the National Assembly and began a sit down strike. They called for "academic freedom", "elimination of inefficient, corrupt and dictatorial administration" and "guarantee of democratic rights" and demanded an answer from President Rhee. The students, however, decided to pull out following the persuasion of their university president. Yet on their march back, they were attacked by a band of hoodlums employed by the authorities, whereby several students were injured. When the news got around, uproarious anger rung throughout the land.

Then came the historical morn of April 19. At 8:40 am, 1,000 Daekwang High School students burst out into the Seoul streets followed by the Koryu University students. At 9:00 am, 10,000 Seoul University collegiates joined in and soon students from every school in Seoul were in the ranks of the endless march that headed for the National Assembly. Seoul citizens lined the streets to cheer the demonstrators. The students determined to see the President, broke through the police lines at the Maritime Agency and headed for the presidential mansion at Kyungmoodae Heights. As they approached the mansion, a sudden barrage of bullets fell on them, killing about 15 and wounding another 50. They still kept up their advance with wounded comrades on their shoulders until the ceaseless gunfire convinced them that their charge would end in vain. Similar bloodsheds occurred in front of the Home Ministry and many other points. Enfuriated Seoul citizens now joined the students' ranks and the demonstrators burned down the office of the Seoul Shinmoon and the Anti-Communist Youth Corps Headquaters as well as devastating the Liberal Party Headquarters and a number of police boxes. During the violent day, 101 lives were lost and 456 wounded.

In the meantime, similar anti-Rhee uprisings broke out in other major cities such as Taejon, Mokpo, Chungjoo, Kwangjoo and Pusan. The frightened Rhee government declared marshal law throughout the land and moved to crush the uprisings. Tense atmosphere enwrapped the nation for a week. On the 23rd, Democratic Vice President Chang. Myun belatedly handed in his resignation and the newly-elected Vice President Lee Ki-Boong also expressed his intentions to decline the nomination.

Capitulation of Rhee. But President Rhee still tried to cling to his ruling position and stated on the 24th: "I will resign as chairman of the Liberal Party but will remain in my post as head of the state and government." On the following day, a group of college professors demonstrated through the streets in defiance of the marshal law and issued a proclamation requesting the immediate resignation of President Rhee and all members of the National Assembly. The proclamation encouraged Seoul citizens to come out into the streets again and hundreds of thousands filled the streets and demonstrated throughout the night. On the 26th, 100,000 citizens led by 3,000 students moved into another fierce demonstration resulting in 24 more dead. Even stubborn Rhee could no longer stand the bloodsheds and at 10:20 am of the 26th, he announced through a statement that he would promise to (1) resign as President if the people wish so (2) hold reelections for the Presidency and Vice Presidency (3) have Lee Ki-Boong retire from all offices and (4) establish a responsible cabinet system by revising the Constitution. And on the 27th, he turned in his resignation to the National Assembly and formally stepped down from the Presidency. Thus the Syngman Rhee regime that ruled the land for 12 long years was brought down by the hands of the people.

IV Characteristics

Anti-dictatorship Struggle. The immediate cause that ignited the April Revolu-

tion, no doubt, was the unfair elections. The real causes, however, were the inefficiency and corruption of the Rhee Government and the impoverishment of the nation that resulted from the maladministration. So, the ultimate objective of the revolution was not to rectify the unfairness of the elections but to topple the dictatorship and thus restore democracy in the land. In other words, the people fought to eliminate the remnants of feudalism and also to extinguish the servile state to foreign powers.

Nationwide Uprisings. The April Revolution was not a revolution limited to Seoul nor was it carried out only by the students as some people are apt to think. The demonstrations in Seoul only climaxed the anti-dictatorship struggle that was staged in all parts of the country and thus dealt the finishing blow on the crumbling Rhee regime. The revolution touched off by the students succeeded only because the entire nation arose in answer to the students' cause. The April Revolution, therefore, was a popular uprising in a nationwide scale to bring down the long-hated dictatorship.

Spontaneous and Legal Movement. Nor was the revolution incited by certain elements as some critics say—less by foreign powers. It was a spontaneous struggle pushed forward by the entire Korean nation. Syngman Rhee himself acknowledged the point. And as proven throughout the entire course of the struggle, the revolution was won through the execution of the people's justful rights to demonstrate and, therefore, entirely legal. Unlawful actions were taken only on the side of the authorities which killed and wounded thousands of citizens who were but executing their rights to demonstrate.

Popular Revolution. Even the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea (UNCURK) which had till then provided cover for the Syngman Rhee and let many rigged elections go by, admitted in its 1960 annual report to the General Assembly that the uprisings were the due results of the justifiable indignations of the people against the previous Syngman Rhee Government and confirming that many students were killed on account of the firings by the police, concluded that: "the revolution was a proof that Koreans have attained higher political maturity and independence." The April Revolution must be recorded in the history of the Korean nation as a glorious popular revolution.

V Betrayals

Huh Chung Government. Prior to President Rhee's resignation, all ten ministers of his government had resigned. Rhee sought to form a new cabinet, but no one was willing to be associated with Rhee's regime that had brought the fury of the entire nation upon itself. After five days of painful negotiations, the President finally succeeded in persuading Huh Chung, former transportation minister, to accept. Huh, however, accepted only on condition that President Rhee would resign and was instated as the new foreign minister on April 26. Since Rhee resigned on the following day Huh took over as acting president and began his work to form a caretaker government. As was to be seen throughout Huh Chung's rule, the nomination of Huh was aimed to put a check on the demands of the nation requesting thorough democratic reforms while securing the interests of the ruling class.

Among the 12 ministers of the Huh Chung government inaugurated on May 2, nine ministers were Rhee men and Huh himself was one of the authors of the notorious Constitutional Ammendment Bill that changed the Presidency into a directly-elected office to ensure Syngman Rhee's election to a second term. The remaining 8 ministers had also held high offices under Rhee. Government composed of such characters was not to the liking of the people and naturally violent repulsions were shown by the nation. The

Huh Chung government, except reprimanding the authors of the suppression committed on the Masan citizens, not only was reluctant in dismantling the dictatorial machine but even tried to keep security officials responsible for the April massacres in office.

National Assembly. The Democratic Party now took the intiative in the Assembly but it did not move to abolish the vicious laws like the National Security Law nor ventured to enact a legislation to ensure the political neutrality of the police and civil servants. The Democrats were more interested in safeguarding the dictatorial structure with calculations that victory would surely be theirs in the coming elections. They fully acknowledged that the Assembly elected through the unfair elections had no authority to revise the Constitution but in collusion with the Liberals, they decided, with guilty conscience, on revising the Consitution before going to the polls.

Against such betrayals, the nation again unsheathed its fury. On April 26, the Students Revolutionary Committee constituted by representatives of all 24 universities of Seoul, presented a statement to the government and the Assembly requesting the following reforms: (1) arrest and punish the authors of the rigged elections at once (2) discharge all corrupt government officials (3) revise all undemocratic laws (4) secure the political neutrality of the police through legislation (5) establish the independence of the judiciary and (6) discharge the supervisors of the rigged elections. Demonstrations condemning the government and the National Assembly broke out in all major cities of the country and the people cried: "What were the bloods shed for?" To the renewed demonstrations, the Huh Chung government answered with ruthless crackdowns, while the Democrats, taking advantage of the illusioned trust the nation had held in them, worked to split the ranks of the students by soft words of appeasement.

New Constitution. So the New Constitution adopted by the Assembly on June 15 fell far short of the expectations of the nation. The presidential system was replaced by a responsible cabinet system and the unicameral assembly became bicameral but such were not of importance to the nation. What the people had expected was the expansion of democratic rights but much progress was not gained there. Nevertheless, the Assembly passed another bill on election and dissolved on June 22.

Chang Myun Government. The general elections were held on July 29 and, as predicted, the Democrats came out as the overwhelming victors. However, the elections were not very fair. Election irregularities counted 926 cases nearly all of which were connected with the conservatives. The Democratic Party, in essence, hardly differed from the Liberals but as it was pushed to the forefront of the anti-Rhee struggle, the nation gave it an overwhelming support. So, once the Democrats became the ruling party, they revealed their true colors and betrayed the spirit of the April Revolution.

As soon as the elections were over, factional-strife took hold of the Democratic Party. The New Faction led by Chang Myun and the Old Faction led by Kim Do-Yun became engrappled in a fight for the premiership. After long confusion, a compromise was reached, whereby Yun Po-Sun belonging to the Old Faction was nominated as President, while Chang Myun took over the premiership and on August 23 his government was launched.

In spite of the vast support and expectations of the nation, the Chang administration soon proved itself inefficient. Not one of its commitments were carried out as promised. The strict policy towards election-riggers and illicit fortune-makers was softened. Its promise to promote peaceful unification was altered into "reconstruction first, then unification" and the plan to cut 100,000 men off the armed forces had to be scrapped. The disappointed nation pursued Chang's inoffici-

ency but all that Chang could say was "give me more time."

VI Peaceful Unification Movement

Only Road. The disillusioned nation now became conscious that the only road by which the eventual goals of the April Revolution could be gained was through peaceful unification. Koreans reached the conviction that complete freedom and independence both economically and politically could only be won by reunifying the torn nation and by the end of 1960, the bandwagons of the peaceful unification movement was moving at great speed. Koreans looked forward to 1961 as the year to realize the long-cherished aspiration and with the coming of the new year, the unification movement reached greater heights by taking in all the anti-government struggles like the 'anti-vicious law" and "give us food and work" struggles. Even conservative newspapers came out to endorse cultural and economic exchange between the north and south as a prelude to eventual unification.

On February 25 the Central Council for National Self-unification was formed comprising unification-minded citizens of all fields and sectors of the nation. And, in the meantime, the Minjok Ilbo, the daily for the unificationists was inaugurated too. The students who were the heroes of the April Revolution organized the Students League for National Unification on March 3 and proposed to their counterparts in the north to meet at Panmunjom. "Let's go north, come to the south!" became the slogan on the lips of all patriotic Koreans and the students were all set to start on their peace march to Panmunjom. But, there lay in ambush the pack of militarists to obstruct the way.

VII Military Coup d'etat

Temporary Chill. The May 16 military coup d'etat staged by the military cliques led by Chang Do-Yung and Park Chun-Hee took advantage of the intrigue conspired jointly by the two generals and Premier Chang Myun to stem the heightening tide of the peaceful unification movement. Chang Myun's plan was to employ the troops under Chang, then army chief of staff, to crush the demonstrations commemorating the 1st anniversary of the April Revolution should they develop into anti-government riots. But as the crisis passed without confusion, the plan was postponed till a later date. Chang Do-Yung, however, was threatened by a congressional investigation and Park's prospects were dreary as his superior officer Lt. Gen. Choi Kyung-Nok was to return from the United States. So, the two generals decided to go through with the original plan and thus the coup d'etat. Fortunately, the unification-inclined atmosphere of the nation helped the generals in their cause to make pretexts for the takeover.

But outagerous as its emergence were, the military regime has, in the 11 months of its rule, laid bare its mean and fraudulent nature. All it has done was to devastate democracy so as to perpetuate the military dictatorship. Still, no matter how atrocious it may be, the military regime cannot stem the current flowing towards unification too long. The military rule is but a temporary chill that has set in before the coming of a real spring. The spirit of the April Revolution lives on in the nation's soul and it shall find its embodiment in the eventual unification of the divided nation which is not far off.

VIII Conclusion

False Heirs. Today there are various elements that assert themselves as the heirs of the April Revolution. The lead-

(*Cont. on Page 23*)

Unification-fighters Gone Underground

"Man Wanted" Ad. The March 27 Hankook Ilbo evening edition carried in its ad column a very strange announcement sponsored by four ministers of the government, namely, home, defense, justice and information. It persuaded North Korean agents of ROK origin, who have infiltrated into all sectors of the nation, to surrender themselves to the authorities during the period of March 25 to April 24, whereby the advertisement guaranteed that the surrenders will be treated with generosity. Furthermore, the ministers appealed to those protecting or concealing the "North Korean spies" and "unificationists," "violators of the Anti-Communist and National Security Laws" and "other anti-state suspects" to give themselves up to the authorities. The public was also requested to cooperate and warned that non-cooperators would be strictly punished.

The "North Korean agents of ROK origin" here, of course, mean the unification-fighters and anti-militarists too since all the defendants of the Revolutionary Trials such as the Minjok Ilbo, the Socialist and the Central Council for Self-unification Cases were labelled as "North Korean Agents" by the Court.

Unificationists to the Underground. The number of active campaigners for peaceful unification under influence of progressive parties was estimated at no less than 150,000. As those presently held in prisons is said to be about 20,000, unificationists that have gone underground would certainly amount to a tremendous figure. One of the most fiery unification-fighter and spokesman-doctrinist of the Socialist Party, Ryu Byung-Mook, for instance, went into hiding immediately following the coup d'etat last May and his whereabouts is still unkown in spite of the extensive man-hunt by the security authorities. Many leaders of the disbanded Students League for National Unification have disappeared into the underground too.

Although there are no reliable report as to how many unificationists have gone underground, the number is surely enough to frighten the military government and the recent advertisement eloquently testifies to the point.

Rewards Upped. On February 28 the justice ministry increased the reward sum to those who turn in "North Korean agents." The sum was raised from 1 million hwan to 2 million and in case any money should be confiscated from the spy, additional reward up to 5 million hwan is to be given to the recipient out of the seized money. The military government, ever since its emergence, has been very frantic about countering North Korean agents and "pro-Communists." Secret service agents were deployed throughout the land and intelligence sections established in all police stations. The Anti-Communism Law was enacted to counter Communist infiltration and subversive activities.

In spite of such measures, the number of North Korean agents captured by the authorities till this day amounts to only 6! And rumors going around say that even these scarce spy cases uncovered were "frame-ups" created by the frustrated investigators desparately in need of some record of achievement.

Resistance. At any rate, not one unification-fighter gone underground has been caught by the authorities as yet. As newcomers tend to be conspicuous in rural areas, most of the unificationists are said to have disappeared into the laboring masses of urban areas. Some are working in plants, while others are driving taxis and serving as store clerks. The public, in its place, has never betrayed the patriots and thus a powerful underground resistance is said being organized which will in time rise to turn out the militarists.

MILITARISTS FACING GRAVEST CRISIS BY ENFORCING PURGE LAW

Enforcement of the Political Activities Purification Law and the subsequent resignation of President Yun Po-Sun has confronted the military government with the gravest political crisis since its emergence. Politicians and officials subject to the purge are moving towards a showdown with the militarists; and Pres. Yun's resignation depriving the military government of its only cover of legitimacy has shattered its prestige both at home and abroad.

Political Activities Purification Law

Last Hope. The dictatorship-worn ROK public, driven into sullen obedience by the militarists' bayonets, had placed its last hope of deliverance from the predicament on the coming government transfer promised by the junta. It was last Aug. 12, a month after Park Chung-Hee became Chairman of the Supreme Council, that he announced to the nation in a statement that the military government would turn the ruling powers over to civilian control in the summer of 1963 through general elections and also by revising the Constitution which will restore the Presidential system and a unicameral National Assembly. The pledge was reconfirmed by Park at the rostrum of the National Press Club in Washington last November. The solemn tone of Park's promise did give food for some ex-politicians to nest sweet dreams of returning to politics, but thoughtful Koreans knew much better: The militarists have never as yet kept a promise. No one, moreover, who has once sat on the ruling chair of the nation would ever abandon the power so disinterestedly. And it did not require much time before the militarists revealed their true intentions. On January 22, Chairman Park declared at his special news conference that the military government was going to "employ every possible means to build up a conscientious civilian government" and hinted that all "established" politicians were going to be banned from returning to the political arena. So, came out the mass purge law with the title of Political Activities Purification Law on March 16.

Mass Purge. By the law, former politicians including Liberals, Democrats, New Democrats and members of the so-called progressive organizations were banned from all political activities until August 15, 1968. Ex-members of the National Assembly and provincial assemblies, former heads of government-run banks and corporations, ex-cabinet ministers, ambassadors, ministers and businessmen convicted of illegal fortune-making were purged too. Also included in the black list were key members of 36 political and social organizations such as the United Socialist Party, Reformist Party, Central Council for National Self-Unification, Students League for National Unification etc. In short, this mass purge law placed practically all ex-politicos and former government officials under disqualification from public elections.

As Article 12 of the law defines the political activities as: (1) becoming a candidate for public election (2) delivering election speeches for other candidates (3) promoting or preparing for formulation of political or social organization, participating in the political parties and social organs or becoming a sponsor or speaker for a political assembly and (4) helping or obstructing political activi-

ties by the politicians, political parties and social organizations, the purge is a thorough banishment from politics. The bewilderment caused on the nation and bitterness being felt by former politicians can be easily imagined.

Relief Clause. In order to appease the nation and also to bring the non-coorperating ex-politicos to their knees, the militarists have clumsily provided a relief clause whereby a "Political Purification Committee" will be set up to screen those subject to disqualification, and those subject to the law are requested to file a suit to vindicate their innocence or otherwise they will be automatically banned, while any violation of the law is to be punished with less than 5 years in prison or fine of no more than a million hwan.

The law also empowered the Supreme Council Chairman to modify the prohibition provision to those who are recognized as having rendered distinguished service to the nation and society after the military revolution and President Yun Po-Sun who had held his post since the inauguration of the Democratic Government in 1960 was exempted from the ban.

Resignation of President Yun

Resistance. But, things did not go as the militarists calculated. President Yun, who could no longer toler the deceitful and high-handed ways of the militarists and also regretting the unjustful purge law, threw in his resignation on March 22 and made it final this time despite strong persuasion by the militarists.

At the very outset of the military government, President Yun tendered his resignation but was pressured into withdrawing it by the militarists who were desparate to secure the constitutionally-elected President as the last cover of legitimacy for their government. So, unwillingly he did give the militarists the ground to assert legality. The excessiveness of the militarists, however, compelled the President to show resistance from time to time. Criticizing Park's August 12 statement on government transfer, he demanded that the preparation period be shortened and also stressed that the transfer must be done in accords with constitutional procedures. Then on February 3, President Yun challenged Park's remarks about prohibiting all ex-politicians from returning to politics and requested the military government to accord the politicians chance to run in the forthcoming elections. The militarists who have never lent ears to what others have to say, of course, ignored the President's word and went on to enforce this mass purge law. So, there was no alternative but to resign for the President.

Severe Blow. In his statement to the press given on March 22, President Yun declared that the military government's legislation of the Purification Law was one of the major reasons for his resignation. He also emphasized that he had repeatedly expressed his objection to the military government's move to provide "legal measures punishing former politicians" which he feared would hinder familiarity and unity among the people. And he concluded that "it was very regrettable to have experienced the unhappy development of the military revolution last May" Sensing fierce persuasion by the militarists again to remain, the President hurriedly moved out of the presidential mansion to his private residence. The President's adamant action was hailed as "unavoidable and proper" by Kim Do-Yun, former chairman of Yun's defunct New Democratic Party. The Chosun Ilbo commented that President Yun should have quit prior to his signing of the Political Purification Law. At any rate, resignation of the only constitutionally-elected official left in the military regime and titular head of the nation was a severe blow to the militarists, for by losing its only cover of legitimacy, the military government's prestige is crumbling both at home and abroad.

Patching Up

Militarists' Speciality. The militarists seems to have been confronting the situa-

tion with calm but the effects of President's resignation coupled with the enactment of the Purification Law is said to be gradually developing into the biggest political crisis to be experienced by the military dictatorship.

Meeting firm resoluteness of the President, the militarists soon abandoned hopes of retaining him whereby a complicated question as to who should succeed the presidency came up. The junta's Law Concerning Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction which replaces the constitution has conflicting provisions: Article 11 of the law stipulates that the junta chairman should assume the presidency but Article 4 provides that the junta chairman cannot hold another office concurrently other than premier. To overcome such legal difficulty is the militarists' speciality: On March 24, the Supreme Council added another provision to its Extraordinary Law and stipulated that a military officer "could act as chief of state" superceding the consititutional provision to the contrary and Park Chung-Hee was instated as acting president of the republic.

Grave Developments. In spite of the seeming calm at the surface the consternation beneath could not be concealed. Hoping to get a civilian leader of Yun's stature, the Supreme Council implored such persons as former Acting President Huh Chung, ex-Prime Minister Byun Yung-Tae and ex-Supreme Court Justice Kim Byung-Ro to succeed the presidency but all three turned the offer down. So, Park had to step in as the titular head of the nation and in taking over the office. Park urged the nation "to work closely together to carry out the revolutionary tasks successfully so that the civilian government can step in in the summer of 1963." But no sensible Korean will follow the militarists any more. The public has openly declared its opposition to the Purification Law and support, on the contrary, to President Yun's action. Politicians are said to be moving in the direction to boycott the Purification Law. And some even accuse the militarists as liars trying to cling to their ruling power as long as they can. Although the military regime has never been anywhere close to the people, it is considered that recent developments have turned the entire nation edcisively against the militarists.

Reactions Home and Abroad

The enactment of the mass purge law of past politicians drew severe public criticisms. Scholars and justices have condemned the law as unjust and infringing on the Proclamation of Human rights. Approval and sympathy, on the contrary, were expressed by the nation towards President Yun's action to part with the military government. The following are representative reactions expressed both at home and abroad:

Chang Myun, ousted Premier (March 25): If enforced as it is the Political Activities Purification Law would do great damage to the principles of democracy. I am afraid that it is likely to result in one-sided elections, a political system without opposition, and therefore it would be difficult to expect a return to a civil rule that deserves its name. Voters are experienced and trained over the past ten years and they should be left alone to elect their own spokesmen.

Yu Ki Chung, President of Seoul University (March 17): The Republic of Korea is a democratic state dedicated to the idea of a free society and the Constitution has clearly guaranteed that all men are equal by law. In my opinion, restrictions may be put on those who have committed crimes in the past, but otherwise the fundamental rights of the people cannot be restricted.

Chung Ku-Yong, President of ROK Lawyers Assoiation (March 17): I was quite astonished to hear that such a law has come to exist. No law that the Supreme Council has enacted so far provides ground to impose such broad restrictions on the freedoms of speech, assembly and association. The Political Activities

Purification Law asserts that it is based on Article 22, paragraph 3 of the Law Concerning Extraordinary Measures for National Reconstruction, but paragraph 3 did not exist before the Purification Law came into being. At any rate, the fundamental rights of the people must be guaranteed. This point is clearly defined in the Proclamation of Human Rights. So, it is highly regrettable that such retroactive extraordinary law was enacted to restrict the fundamental rights of the people. According to the law, all the past politicians and ex-members of social organizations are to be screened for qualification. In view of the reality that the persons who have been engaged in politics ever since the founding of the republic occupy nearly all those interested in politics, it can hardly be expected that the nation will ever be led towards a democratic state through such law.

Kim Do-Yun, former Chairman of New Democratic Party (March 22): President Yun wished to resign at the very outset of the military oup d'etat but complicated circumstances compelled him to remain in office and he has been suffering for that sake. The opinions that he expressed never found their reflections in the policies of the military government and as the Purification Law is headed in the direction opposite to Yun's ideas, it seems that he throught it no longer useful to stay in office. So, his resignation must be said unavoidable and proper.

Su Min-Ho, ex-Vice Speaker of House of Representatives (March 22): I believe that President Yun decided to resign in full reflection of the domestic and international situation. The President's recent action was proper and approvable in the sense that he resigned from the standpoint of moral responsibility and respect of law.

Yongjeung Kim. President of the Korean Affairs Institute, Wash. (March 27): Despite all praise and apologies for the military regime in south Korea, the resignation of President Yun Po-Sun confirms the political suppression in that unfortunate nation. The immediate reason was the Park regime's disclosure of its so-called "Political Activities Purification Law" which will deprive thousands of civilians—except those cleared by the military—of the right to run or be elected to office during the next six years.

The junta's discriminatory election plan is completely contrary to its promises to hold free elections in 1953. It is obviously designed solely to assure the election of its own men.

This crafty scheme not only disappoints the Korean people but must surely embarrass their quardian power, the United States. If next year's elections is to be anything but an anti-democratic travesty all people, except those convicted of high crimes, should be free to become candidates for any elected office.

London Times (March 23): Mr. Yun Po-Sun, who had stayed unwillingly in Office as President of South Korea after the military coup last May, thereby giving the change a cover of legitimay, has now resigned and been permitted to say why. Wrapped in polite hopes of economic progress and national harmony, he explained that last week's political purification law was too much for him. For a constitutionally elected president it is not a surprising reaction. The law banishes from political life until August, 1968, every prominent politician and official associated with the past. Not merely relics of the Syngman Rhee regime but the following of Mr. Chang, the ousted Prime Minister and all the opposition parties will be expelled from public life for 6 years. Mayors, provincial governors, ambassadors, and ministers must accept this period of political retreat. Trough excepting the President personally from his sweeping measure, General Park may now feel that his constitutional tenure is sufficiently unassailable to override such tensions as the President fears will result from this political ban.

So for a time it may be. General Park is running true to military form in finding politics an encumbrance, though he

has been more ruthless than others of his kind. Corruption and inefficiency, smuggling and racketeering, are being wiped out with the backing of plentiful death sentences. Nor is it only economic progress and efficient administration that are offered as justification for these harsh measures. General Park has lately been dramatizing a new moral outlook by public bonfires in which luxury imported goods, from whiskey and cigarettes to cosmetics, are burned as a sign of Korea's determination to make its dedicated way forward. Such gestures may also find an echo in public feeling, yet a country as anxious as Korea to assert its independence may want a little more than this. 30 years ago Chang Kai-Shek's "new life" movement backed its anti-Communism with similar actions ond President Diem's in South Vietnam has had the same flavor. The liberties of the middle way seem as far away in Korea.

Washington Post (March 25): President Yun Po-Sun's resignation in South Korea serves to focus attention upon the drastic degree issued by the military government for the control of future elections. President Yun resigned against the wishes of the generals because he feared that this severe restriction upon a free election would bring disunity among the people. . . If the gradual approach to restoration of self-government is to have fair chance of success, the ruling generals will also have to exercise restraint in banning experienced men from public life.

Background of the Crisis

Objectives of the Purification Law. Now exactly why did the militarists decide on this policy that was so imminent to turn the entire nation against themselves? First of all, the militarists are bent on prolonging their military dictatorship. It would be better to say that the militarists had no intention of returning the government from the very outset, for the power-hungry generals are about the last persons that would relinquish their power with any grace. Many observers, as a matter of fact, fear that the Political Purification Law will give the militarists a free hand to become themselves, candidates for the general elections or to pick out their favorites as a means to prolong the military control over the coming civilian government. The second objective of the militarists is said to be that they are aiming to bring the conservative politicians, who have so far kept back from supporting the military government, to their knees by obliging them to apply for the screening to be done on their qualification. Cynics say that tyrants that they are, the militarists are afraid that should their rivals emerge as victors in the coming elections, it might be their turn to be sent to the gallows.

Isolation. The militarists know well that they have become totally isolated from the nation. The usurpation of the legitimate government was already enough to turn the democracy-minded nation away, but their high-handedness and cruelty, maladministration and blunders have sharpened the bitterness of the nation. The dictatorship that deprived the nation of its civil liberties and the nation state of economic life further aggravated by the militarists, inevitably, directed the nation to look forward for the day to be delivered from the militarists' stranglehold. The appraisal is that the overwhelming majority of the nation has never actively cooperated with the militarists. The more impulsive ones, in the meantime, have conspired, though unsuccesfully, to oust the militarists by violent means, and anti-junta factions within the army itself have attempted the same. So, it became too risky for the militarists to go through with any honorable transfer of the government.

Non-cooperating Politicians. The reluctance of the politicians to cooperate with the military government has been pointed out as one of the most stinging setback and humiliation for the military government. Not a single prominent con-

servative politician has as yet responded to the militarists' call. The politicians, of course, have due reasons to hold grudges against the militarists, but they are also acting on the judgment that the military rule will be but short-lived. The case is further humiliating and grave for the militarists because conservative politicians had so far done anything to satisfy their lust for power, glory or wealth and on top of the non-cooperating attitude, the politicians have been constantly showing resistance to the militarists. Besides President Yun and Chairman Kim Do-Yun mentioned above, many others have opposed the military government from time to time. Former acting President Huh Chung of the caretaker government after the April Uprisings of 1960 declined to accept the nomination as chief delegate to the ROK-Japanese Normalization Talks. A group of 20 former assemblymen raised administrative litigations against illegal taxation by the military government. Ousted Premier Chang Myun, who had announced a humiliating statement admitting the inefficiency of his government before, recently changed into "high posture" and stated on Jan 20: "I do not think that the military takeover would take place before May 16. I believed so because neither did I maintain a tyrannical government nor intended to exercise a fist policy."

Developments

Political Threatening. The non-cooperating posture of conservative politicians has been the cause for anger and frustration of the militarists. Chairman Park thrusting about his anger against the politicians, declared in his news conference on January 22 that "there are no former politicians who seem to have repented their past misconducts. They instead are picking holes in the slight drawbacks committed by the military government" and went on to threaten that he would exert pressures or even employ another coup d'etat in an effort to bring about a concientious civilian rule.

Many observers, therefore, see that the Political Purification Law was legislated with the prime aim to scare the irreconcilable conservative politicians into the ranks of the militarists. The law has definitely put past politicians in a position to choose between either applying to the screening committee of the militarists or ignoring the law and get automatically purged from politics for six long years.

Showdown. Whether the militarists still have the upper hand or not remains to be seen. Those subject to the purge are requested to apply for screening within 15 days after announcement of the lists of persons to be purged. And by March 31, lists containing some 4,000 ex-politicians and officials were announced. All prominent, influential and capable politicians of course are included. The embittered politicians, on their part, are reported to be uniting in a common front to boycott the screening. New Democrats who were the opposition during the Chang Myun administration and therefore had nursed hopes of becoming the ruling party in the coming elections, are said to be solidifying their ranks and former Chairman Kim Do-Yun of that Party has flatly declared that he will fight the militarists. Chang Myun and his Democrats too are, reportedly, uniting in the direction to ignore the law.

The military government on the other hand is calling on the politicians to cooperate with hints of generosity to be served. Lee Soo-Il, Vice Chairman of the Supreme Council stated that "those who have the capability of exemplifying the new political morals shall be treated with generosity regardless of their past mistakes." So, various signs show that a major showdown between these two rivals may be in the offing, and reports from Seoul say that the military government is certainly confronted with the biggest political crisis since its emergence.

Comments

Due Results. The recent developments must be said due results of the deceitful

policies of the military government. President Yun had criticized the ever-changing programs and policies of the militarists with sharp words: "Some civil servants have mistook the meaning of strong administration and are resorting to dogmatic actions. Such, however, will only obstruct the spontaneous cooperation of the public. If formalism is going to be pushed through, the results will be but public displeasure." The militarists are suspected of having an illusion that anything can be done by enacting laws. But spontaneous cooperation can never be won by mere enforcement of new laws.

Cruelty and insolence, illegality and inefficiency are the impressions stamped on the public by the militarists. Being in no position, therefore, to go to the polls to seek the confidence of the nation, the militarists were compelled to resort to this unjustful means to cling to the ruling powers by purging all the opposition for another six years. But, in view of the vast odds they have build up against themselves, some foresee that the militarists may not come out as lucky as before from the difficulty.

Loss of Cover of Legitimacy. The Political Purification Law was, of course, the direct cause for President Yun's resignation but he had more profound reasons to quit. Observers believe that the President's action was a clear expression of his complete distrust towards the military regime and he had only waited for the best opportunity to make his action felt. The psychological impact was big. The shock on Chairman Park was so strong, reported the Hankook Ilbo on March 24, that he was confined to his bed. And now that the only constitutionally elected official has stepped down from the titular top position of the state, the legitimacy of the military government can no longer be asserted from any angle.

Some patisans of the militarists, however, contend that the military government is still legal since the President had justified the legal continuity of the military regime from the preceding Chang Myun government. Even ROK newspapers held under marshal law reject such sophistry. Declared the Hankook Ilibo: "The only constitutional office remaining after the military revolution is the President. If President Yun should resign from his post, the only office symbolic of the Constitution will cease to exist. So, resignation by the President will surely be a loss to the military government."

Another argument tries to accord legality to the military regime on the merit that it has promised to transfer the government to civilian rule in 1963. But the ground for this argument has been completely lost since the Political Purification Law has made it quite clear that there will be no real and justifying restoration of civilian rule but only the continuation of military control of the state. One cannot sell vinegar by calling it wine these days.

And neither does the last stand citing the United Nations General Assembly's last resolution on Korea carry any effect, for the resolution, in no ways, recognized the military government but only reconfirmed the past U.N. decisions on Korea.

So, there no longer exists any cover for the militarists to assert the legitimacy of their government. The usurpation last May was already enough to buy the scorn and condemnation of all truly democratic governments of the world but the loss of President Yun as its titular head, no doubt, has lowered its prestige to the ground.

4,192 Politicians on Purge Lists

List 1. The Supreme Council announced on March 30 and 31 two lists of former politicians and government officials subject to the screening for qualification in

accords with Political Activities Purification Law. The first list included 2,907 persons while the second contained 1,285 adding up to a total of 4,192 ex-politicos liable for purge from all political activities in the coming 6 years. Top names in the rosters were former President Syngman Rhee, Democratic Premier Chang Myun and New Democratic Party Chairman Kim Do-Yun. Even ex-acting president and head of the caretaker government after Rhee's fall, Huh Chung, was included while President Yun's name was excluded as promised.

The 1st list included all 240 members of the lower and 56 of the upper house of the National Assembly under the Democratic regime; all cabinet members, 15 ambassadors and ministers appointed by Chang Myun; 734 members of the Democratic Party; 605 members of the New Democratic Party and 1257 members of the Liberal Party. The big names are:

Democrats: Chang Myun, Chun Yil-Hyong, Hun Suk-Ho, Cho Chae-Chun, Lee Chul-Seung, Kim Sang-Don, Kim Yung-Sun, Tai Wan-Sun, Kim Chae-Sun, Chung

New Democrats: Kim Do-Yun, Yu Chin-San, Suh Bum-Suk and Paik Nam-Hun.

Liberals: Syngman Rhee, Hwang Sung-Su, Chang Kyung-Keun, Han Hi-Suk, Kim Chung-Yul and Shin Do-Hwan.

Independents: Chang Taek-Sang, Kim Suk-Won, Paik Du-Jin, Lee Bum-Suk and Lee Min-U.

List 2. The second list included 1,285 former minority party members, corrupt politians, government officials, heads of state-run enterprises and counter-revolutionaries. The most unreasonable and astonishing point is that a great number of students, professors and leaders of social organizations are listed as subjects to the purges under the category of "persons outstandingly responsible for corrupt politics." This list contained 334 minority party members; 27 government officials appointed by Chang Myun; 483 members of provincial councils under Democratic regime; 38 heads of state-run enterprises; 32 illicit fortune-makers; 321 corrupt politicians and 50 counter-revolutionaries. Some prominent names are:

Leaders of minor parties termed "pro-Communists": Kim Dal-Ho (Socialist Popular Party Chairman), Chang Kim-Sang (Reformist Party Chairman) Ryoo Byung-Mook (Socialist Party Spokesman), Lee Dong-Wha (United Socialist Party leader)

Government officials: Lee Tai-Hee (ex-attorney general) and Kang Su-Ryung (ex-police director)

Heads of state-run enterprises and banks: Pai Ui Whan (former Governor of Korea), Mun Chang-jun (Pres. Korea Tungsten Mining Co.) and Na Ik-Jin (former Governor of Reconstruction Bank)

Illicit fortune-makers: Lee Byong-Chul (Cheril Textile Co. Pres.), Park Heung-Shik (Pres. Hwashin Industry, Kim Chi-Tae (Pres. Cho-sun Silk Co.), Lt. Gen Paik In-Yup and Lt. Gen. Yang Kuk-Jim.

"Persons outstandingly responsible for corrupt politics": Huh Chung, Yun Shik (Chairman Students League for National Unification), Ro Chung-Hoon (Chairman National Students Struggle Committee Against Vicious Laws), Kim Sung-Kon (former justice) and Kim Kwang-Sob (Chairman Korea Arts and Culture Association).

Counter-revolutionaries: Chang Do-Yung (former Supreme Council Chairman), Lee Han-Lim (ex-commander 1st Army), Park Chi-Ok, Song Chan-Ho and Kim Chae-Min (ex-junta members).

Those subject to the law must apply for the screening within 15 days and the Political Purification Committee is slated to complete the examinations by May 31. military government leaders with soft words of leniency to be offered, Seoul newspapers report that the majority of the politicians are going to boycott the law and even the conservatives—core members of the Democratic and New Democratic Partics—have decided not to apply for the screening since their chances of getting qualified are slim.

India Establishes Diplomatic Relation with Both Koreas

On March 1 the governments of India and South Korea announced simultaneously that the two countries agreed to establish formal diplomatic relations with the exchange of consulate-generals in Seoul and New Dehli. Conclusion of a similar agreement establishing consular ties between India and North Korea was also announced on the same day through a joint communique. Thus India has become the first country to have representatives on both sides of the armistice line and it is speculated that other non-aligned Afro-Asian nations like Burma and United Arab Republic will follow the Indian action.

The ROK-Indian joint communique said the establishment of the consular ties will be made in accordance with an agreement reached between the two governments last Dec. 19. Preliminary contacts were conducted between the two governments since last August when a ROK goodwill mission visited New Dehli. The ROK consulate-general is to appointed soon.

India's relation with Korea dates back to 15 years ago when it sent delegates to the United Nations Commission on Korea and it voted for the recognition of the newly born Republic of Korea at the U.N. General Assembly session in Dec. 1948. India also offered medical donations during the Korean War and extended a helping hand in the reconstruction of Korea after the war through its participation in the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission. On questions involving the colding war, however, the two nations were at times in serious discord.

India is the undisputed leader of neutralism between the two opposing camps. Its establishment of diplomatic relations with both Koreas, therefore, is expected to carry big impact. The virtual recognition of the North Korean Communist government will especially be felt because that government has been so far treated as an "undesirable" by the free world and for which sake, North Korea's rapprochement with the world was, more or less. an impossibility. U.N. General Assembly invited North Korea to participate in its Korean debate last April and December but North Korea turned down the invitations on the ground that "strings were attached." International atmosphere so chilled by the ever-prolonging cold war may not, in any near future, induce the North Korean Communist regime to make itself agreeable to the international society but India's recent action recognizing the reality in the northern half of the Korean peninsula is regarded as a realistic approach towards an eventual solution of the Korean unification question.

The ROK military government played up the establishment of diplomatic ties with India as a victory for its "positive diplomacy" but India's intention surely is not be treated in such light. Koreans have looked to India as the nation best adept to lead the world to help Korea to gain reunification. And in this sense, all unification-minded Koreans were greatly encouraged by India's recent action and it is hoped that India will further its efforts in that direction.

Announcement

The publication date of this volume was tentatively moved to April 19 commemorating the April Revolution. Following issues will be published on the 1st of each month as previously. In the meantime, we wish to exchange publications and would also welcome contributions of articles on the Korean Question.

— Editor

Irresponsible Commitment

to Send Troops to S. Vietnam

Kim Chung-Pil, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, during his goodwill tour of the Southeast Asian countries, declared on February 20 in Manila that South Korea would send troops to Communist-threatened South Vietnam whenever called upon to do so. "We will be more than willing and the first to send troops", in fact, were his exact words. And returning from the trip, Kim revealed on March 3 that he had proposed to the government leaders he had met "to establish a unified front such as the proposed anti-Communist center in a certain Asian country to take unified, practical and powerful action against all possible Communist aggression."

In November last year Chairman Park Chung-Hee during his visit to U.S. said in a press interview with the ABC Broadcast that he was "going to recommend strengthening of the Northeast Asian defense structure to President Kennedy." These statements by the military strongmen are looked upon as extremely disquiet. Such irresponsible talks imply grave dangers of increasing the tensions and threatening the peace in Korea. For the U.S. Seventh Fleet Commander visiting South Korea hinted on February 28 that the United States might deploy nuclear submarines in the Korean waters too and in answer to all the talks, Moscow condemned the United States of trying to bring the projected plan of the Northeast Asian Treaty Organization into reality.

At any rate, the military government has no right to send ROK troops abroad and no Korean life shall be expended at the cost of whimsical ideas thought up by the militarists. Strong protests have been raised against the junta's intentions from various quarters. The following is the text of a protest sent by Yongjeung Kim, President of Korean Affffairs Institute in Washington on March 21 to Chairman Park Chung-Hee:

Protest

As you know, your personal emissary Colonel Kim Chong-Pil, during his recent tour of Southeast Asia, lavishly promised to send Korean armed forces to South Vietnam and Thailand to fight the Communists if they make such request.

You obviously are trying to prove your guardian power that you are a brave ally against the Communists. Nevertheless it is a serious matter to offer the lives of our people in the civil strife of another nation. I also question whether you and Colonel Kim have the right to expend Korean lives at your whim. With grave concern I must remind you, on behalf of our silenced compatriots, that their blood is not that cheap.

If you feel you are strong enough to send your troops to fight the Communists elswhere as well as take care of the home front, I think you should request the United Nations Command to withdraw its forces from the country. That would be a very honorable act.

Mr. Chairman, I venture to add that without our will no foreign power can reunite our nation. This can be achieved only through negotiating and reconciling the differences between the North and South. No patriotic leader in either part

We have sacrificed millions of our people and suffered untold misery by being a party to the East-West cold war. No one should e reckless or gamble with the destiny of our nation. I am sure you do not want to be instrumental in causing another tragedy which—this time—would surely annihilate our nation. I hope you will see fit to work toward our national unity and peace with reason and compatriotic feeling instead of force and hate.

Park Annoyed by Mysterious Incidents

A strange explosion occured during the March 30 ceremony marking the completion of the flood control project of the Yongju area attended by Chairman Park Chung Hee, Premier Song Yo-Chan, U.S. Ambassador Samuel D. Berger and other dignatories. When Park pressed a detonation button to create a new course for the Namwon River, debris of rock rained on the Chairman and those around him. Park escaped injury but Finance Minister Chun Pyung-Kyu was hit on the chest while reporter Park Jae-Kwan of the Minkood Ilbo suffered a fractured jaw and another reporter Lee Kyong-Mo of the Seoul TV Broadcasting Station received bruises on the head.

The security authorities is said to be investigating the incident suspecting possible subversive activity. Five pieces of dynamites weighing 20 to 30 pounds each were used in the blasting. The Reconstruction Agency feared using so much but technicians assured that no dangers would ensue. So the security authorities sensed smells of subversive activity.

Prior to this incident, a battle between a "Communist espionage vessel" and joint ROK police and military team took place on the morn of the same day near Myongsan-ri town. It was announced that an armed Communist agent and another was shot dead, the boat captured while two others fled into the nearby mountains. Chairman Park who was in nearby Ulsan area, immediately gave rewards to the joint team for their meritorious service. But rumors going around claim that this was another cooked-up story and that the "Communist spies" might have been only anti-government elements.

During Park's recent trip to the countryside, every possible security caution was taken and the public was told not to play up the tour. These mysterious incidents, therefore, were reported to be very annoying to Park. In Korea today, false rumors like "Park killed!" is said to be circulating from time to time. The trend, at least, shows how unpopular the militarists have become. The Tokyo Shimbun wrote recently that "a pistol shot could bring the military government down."

April Revolution

(*Cont. from Page 11*)

ers of the present military regime are one such group. The main reason why the militarists must pretend themselves as its successors is because the accomplishments of the April Revolution far outpasses in glory their dirty works of building up a military dictatorship. But, no matter how hard the militarists may pretend so, they cannot distort the real significance of the April Revolction or dampen the spirit of the April Revolution living in the nation's soul.

True Heirs. The spirit of the April Revolution is the spirit to fight against the oppressors. It is the patriotism that sacrifices oneself for the freedom of the nation. To fight for unification, then, is the only way by which Koreans can now exemplify the spirit. Yes, the eventual goal of the April Revolution is the peaceful unification of the torn nation. So, the peaceful unification movement alone is the legitimate and true heir of the April Revolution.

Thousands of unification-fighters have gone underground to carry on the struggle and the public is offering every possible aid and cover to the fighters. These heroic resistances are proofs enough to show that the spirit of the April Revolution is alive and indomitable as ever. April Revolution, at any rate, is not an event just to be celebrated. It is a living reality that is working towards its eventual goal. And until the glorious day on which the last dictator is wiped out and unification won for the nation, the April Revolution shall go on advancing.

NEWS OF THE MONTH Feb. 25 to April. 19

Chang Do-Yung Extenuated to Life Imprisonment

On March 11, the Appellate of the Revolutionary Court reduced to life imprisonment a lower court's death sentence passed on Lt. Gen Chang Do-Yung, former Army Chief of Staff and ex-Chairman of the Supreme Council. Chan's secretary, Col. Lee Hoe-Yung's death sentence was also extenuated to life term. Chang was found guilty of "obstructing" the military takeover last May and Lee plotting to stage a counter-coup against the "main-current junta group" headed by Park Chung-Hee. Among other co-defendants of Chang, 4 were upheld life terms, 3 to 15 years in prison and 3 others to 10 year terms, while 3 others to 10 year terms, while 3 others were acquitted. Two former junta members, Colonels Park Chi-Ok and Moon Chae-Joon were upheld life terms.

ROK-Japan Talks on the Rocks

On March 17, the ROK-Japan normalization talks virtually ran up on the rocks. ROK Foreign Minister Choi Duk-Shin and his Japanese counterpart Zentaro Kosaka had been negotiating for a week in Tokyo but the two could not close up the wide differences particularly on the property claims issue which has been the main stumbling block of the talks being held off and on for a decade already. The ministers agreed to continue the talks at the working level but prospects for an early accord is said to have become low since the Japanese have decided on a more "gradual approach" to the matter. The Korean public, on its part, condemned the Japanese of persisting in their cheeky stand and expressed warnings not to play into the hands of the Japanese by hurrying things.

Formal Proposal for a Status Agreement

On March 27, ROK Foreign Minister Choi Duk-Shin formally proposed to U.S. Ambassador to Seoul Samuel D. Berger to resume negotiations for an early conclusion of a status of forces agreement between the two countries. South Korea and the United States had agreed just before the military takeover last May 16 to commence the negotiations on the agreement which has been dragging on for a decade. The recent knilling of two ROK woodcutters at Paju by trigger-happy U.S. soldiers touched off a heated controversy and the public had been clamoring for an early conclusion of such agreement.

North Korean 1962 Budget Estimates Spendings at 2,811 million wan

On April 5, North Korean Finance Minister Han Song-Tu submitted the fiscal 1962 National Budget Bill to the 10th session of the Supreme People's Assembly. The bill estimated national revenue at 2,818 million wan (1 wan: 83 U.S. cents) and expenditures at 2,811 million wan. The minister explained that defense expenditures will maintain the 1961 level. Meanwhile, according to figures given by government sources, the budget of fiscal 1961 is expected to result in a surplus of 620 million wan.